

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EB-03 PM-03 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 L-02 EURE-00 TRSE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3567

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS UNN

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY OSLO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LUXEMBOURG 0661

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EEC, LU

SUBJ: US/EC RELATIONS

SUMMARY- ON SEPTEMBER 17 VISIT TO FOREIGN MINISTER THORN,
HE TOLD ME THAT HE BELIEVED THAT THE FRENCH PROPOSAL FOR
PRESIDENT NIXON TO MEET THIS FALL WITH THE PRESIDENT OF
THE EC COMMISSION, THE DANISH PRIME MINISTER, AND THE EC-9
FOREIGN MINISTERS WAS ACCEPTABLE TO ALL THE EC COUNTRIES
ALTHOUGH SOME WOULD HAVE AGREED TO A MEETING AT A CHIEF-OF-
GOVERNMENT LEVEL. THORN SAID THAT HE FOUND THE US DRAFT
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WORKING PAPER LACKING IN SUBSTANCE BUT THAT HE BELIEVED

THE FRENCH WERE NOW COOPERATING IN THE EC EFFORT TO COORDINATE ITS REPLY TO THE US. THORN SAID THAT THE EC EXERCISE TO DEFINE EUROPEAN IDENTITY WAS "WINDOW DRESSING" DESIGNED TO SATISFY THE FRENCH. ON THE QUESTION OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE PLANNING, THORN SAID THAT THE EC COUNTRIES, INCLUDING IRELAND, WERE BASICALLY SATISFIED WITH THE PRESENT NATO STRUCTURE ALTHOUGH IN YEARS TO COME THE QUESTION OF AN EC DEFENSE FORCE MIGHT BE INCREASINGLY DISCUSSED, AND THE FRENCH MIGHT WELL SUGGEST A FRANCO-BRITISH NUCLEAR AGREEMENT AS THE KEYSTONE OF A NEW EC DEFENSE ARRANGEMENT.

1. ON SEPTEMBER 17 I CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTER THORN TO GET HIS IMPRESSIONS OF THE SEPTEMBER 10-11 EC FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN COPENHAGEN, AND TO DISCUSS OTHER ISSUES AFFECTING US/EC RELATIONS.

A. LEVEL OF MEETINGS BETWEEN THE EC AND PRESIDENT NIXON. WHEN I ASKED THE FOREIGN MINISTER WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN A GENERAL CONSENSUS IN COPENHAGEN OVER THE LEVEL AT WHICH THE EC WOULD MEET THE PRESIDENT, HE ANSWERED THAT THERE HAD BEEN "SERIOUS DISAGREEMENT AND CONFUSION" AMONG THE FOREIGN MINISTERS ON THIS VERY QUESTION. BEFORE THE COPENHAGEN MEETING THE FRENCH HAD PROPOSED THAT PRESIDENT NIXON MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION, THE DANISH PRIME MINISTER, AND THE 9 FOREIGN MINISTERS. AT THE COPENHAGEN MEETING, HOWEVER, THE FRENCH PLAN WAS BROUGHT INTO QUESTION BY SEVERAL OF THE PARTICIPANTS, NAMELY FRG FOREIGN MINISTER WALTER SCHEEL. SCHEEL SAID THAT THE LEVEL OF MEETINGS BETWEEN THE EC AND THE PRESIDENT SHOULD BE LEFT OPEN FOR THE MOMENT. SENSING THAT HE MIGHT BE ISOLATED ON THE ISSUE, FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER MICHEL JOBERT THEN AGREED TO HAVE DANISH FOREIGN MINISTER ANDERSEN EXPLORE THE QUESTION OF LEVEL WITH THE SECRETARY IN NEW YORK ON SEPTEMBER 25 AND HAVE THE US SUGGEST THE LEVEL DESIRED. THORN SAID THAT HE THEN INTERVENED TO VIGOROUSLY OPPOSE THE IDEA THAT THE US SHOULD PROPOSE THE LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION ON THE EC SIDE. HE

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TOLD THE FOREIGN MINISTERS THAT THE EC SHOULD BE IN A POSITION TO MAKE A PROPOSAL TO THE US. THORN ALSO SAID THAT HE WARNED HIS COLLEAGUES THAT IF THE US SUGGESTED A MEETING WITH THE EC AT THE CHIEF-OF-GOVERNMENT LEVEL, THIS WOULD BE IMMEDIATELY VETOED BY THE FRENCH. WHEN JOBERT CONFIRMED THAT POMPIDOU WOULD NEVER AGREE TO FRENCH PARTICIPATION AT A HIGHER LEVEL THAN FOREIGN MINISTER, THE EC FOREIGN MINISTERS THEN AGREED TO HAVE THE

INITIAL FRENCH PROPOSAL GO FORWARD. THORN ADDED THAT LUXEMBOURG WOULD AGREE FOR THE EC TO MEET THE US "AT ANY LEVEL" BUT THAT HE THOUGHT THE FRENCH PROPOSAL WAS A REALISTIC ONE LIKELY TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE 9.

B. EC AND US DRAFT DECLARATIONS

THORN SAID THAT HE WAS UNHAPPY WITH THE US DRAFT DECLARATION WORKING PAPER. HE BELIEVED THAT OUR PAPER WAS LACKING IN SUBSTANCE AND WAS NOT CONCRETE ENOUGH "FOR IT TO BE WORTH THE PRESIDENT'S COMING TO EUROPE". THORN ALSO COMMENTED THAT IF THE US DRAFT WERE HASTILY APPROVED, NO CONTINUING DISCUSSION ON EC/US RELATIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE. HE INSISTED THAT THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE US AND THE EC WAS ALL-IMPORTANT AND THAT CONTINUITY IN THESE DISCUSSIONS MUST BE GUARANTEED. IN COPENHAGEN, THE FRENCH, FRG, AND BRITISH SAID THAT THEIR BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON GAVE THEM THE IMPRESSION THAT THE US BELIEVED THAT THE PRESIDENT MUST COME TO EUROPE

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BEFORE NOVEMBER 15 AND THAT THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF THE NEGOTIATION BETWEEN THE US AND THE EC MUST TAKE PLACE BEFORE THAT DATE. THORN THEN REITERATED HIS PREVIOUS SUGGESTION THAT THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE "OPEN" AN IN-DEPTH SERIES OF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE EC AND THE US. HE ADDED THAT A CONCLUSIVE AGREEMENT COULD THEN TAKE PLACE NEXT SUMMER AND THAT HE PERSONALLY WOULD NOT BE UNHAPPY TO SEE THE CULMINATION OF THE US-EC DIALOGUE TAKE PLACE AS LATE AS 1975, WHEN THE EC DEFINITION OF A "EUROPEAN UNION" WOULD BE READY. THORN THEN COMMENTED THAT THE FRENCH ARE NOW
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PUSHING FOR RAPID PROGRESS IN EC PREPARATIONS FOR TALKS WITH THE US. THORN EXPLAINED THAT POMPIDOU MUST BELIEVE THAT FRANCE IS IN A BETTER POSITION NOW TO WIELD INFLUENCE IN THESE TALKS THAN SHE MAY BE IN YEARS TO COME. THORN SAID THAT THE FRENCH ARE PLACING GREAT EMPHASIS IN WHAT THEY BELIEVE TO BE A NEW "ENTENTE CORDIALE" WITH THE UK. THE FRENCH ALSO ARE COUNTING ON THE FACT THAT THE FRG IS NOT NOW DISPOSED TO ENGAGE IN A DETAILED DEFINITION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EC AND THE US BECAUSE THE WEST GERMANS FEAR THAT A DETAILED ELABORATION OF THESE ARRANGEMENTS MAY ALLOW THE US TO ACCELERATE THEIR DIS-ENGAGEMENT FROM WESTERN EUROPE.

C. EUROPEAN IDENTITY

THORN SAID FLATLY THAT THERE WAS "NOTHING SERIOUS IN IT" WHEN I ASKED HIM ABOUT THE EC ATTEMPT TO DEFINE A EUROPEAN IDENTITY. HE SAID THAT THE FRENCH HAD BEEN ADAMANT THAT NO AGREEMENT TO A COMMON EC DECLARATION WITH THE US WAS POSSIBLE BEFORE THE 9 HAD AGREED ON A COMMON CONCEPT OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY. ACCORDING TO THORN, THE 8 FOREIGN MINISTERS AGREED IN COPENHAGEN TO THE EUROPEAN IDENTITY EXERCISE AS "WINDOW DRESSING" SO THAT THE FRENCH WOULD COOPERATE ON PREPARING A JOINT DECLARATION FOR US/EC TALKS. THORN CONCLUDED THAT HE THOUGHT THAT NOTHING WAS LIKELY TO COME OUT OF THIS HIGHLY THEORETICAL EXERCISE.

D. EUROPEAN DEFENSE

IN ANSWER TO MY QUESTION, THORN SAID THAT THE

FRENCH ARE SHOWING "SOME FLEXIBILITY" IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS WITHIN THE EC ON EUROPEAN DEFENSE MATTERS. THORN SAID THAT HE THOUGHT IT PROBABLE THAT THE FRENCH WERE WORKING ON A PLAN FOR SOME SORT OF JOINT UK/FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCE FOR THE 1980'S. THORN SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THAT THE FRENCH WANT TO DISCUSS SUCH A PROPOSAL BILATERALLY WITH THE UK FIRST. NEXT FRANCE AND THE UK WOULD BROACH THE MATTER TO THE FRG. THEN THE PROPOSAL WOULD BE DISCUSSED IN EC MEETINGS AND FINALLY THE US AND NATO WOULD BE CONSULTED. THORN SAID THAT THE THEN FOREIGN MINISTER MICHEL DEBRE HAD TOLD HIM SEVERAL YEARS AGO THAT A JOINT UK-FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCE AGREEMENT WAS CERTAIN TO
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HAPPEN IN THE FUTURE.
DESPITE PRELIMINARY THINKING ABOUT THIS EUROPEAN NUCLEAR FORCE, THORN SAID THAT SEVERAL OF THE EC COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITH ANY CHANGE IN THE BASIC NATO ROLE AS IT NOW STANDS. THORN, WHO SAW IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER FITZGERALD IN LUXEMBOURG ON SEPTEMBER 14, SAID THAT THE IRISH ARE "HAPPY NOT TO BE IN NATO, AND HAPPY NOT TO HAVE TO PAY FOR THE DEFENSE OF WESTERN EUROPE". OUTSIDE THE EC, NORWAY HAS SERIOUS INTERNAL PROBLEMS EVERY TIME DEFENSE ISSUES ARE RAISED. THE FRG FEARS THAT ANY WESTERN EUROPEAN NUCLEAR DEFENSE AGREEMENT WILL GIVE AN ADDED INCENTIVE FOR THE US TO REMOVE OR WEAKEN ITS NUCLEAR UMBRELLA. THORN ADDED THAT EVEN THE FRENCH STRONGLY FAVOR THE PROTECTION WHICH WESTERN EUROPE ENJOYS UNDER NATO. SUMMING UP, THORN SAID THAT "NONE OF THE EC COUNTRIES ARE IN A HURRY" TO CREATE A NEW EUROPEAN DEFENSE ORGANIZATION. HE SAID THAT THE EC WILL CONCENTRATE ON POLITICAL INTEGRATION AFTER THE ECONOMIC COORDINATION HAS BEEN VIRTUALLY ACHIEVED. IT IS ONLY AFTER POLITICAL INTEGRATION IS WELL ON ITS WAY, THAT A DISTINCT DEFENSE POLICY FOR THE EC WILL BE SERIOUSLY DISCUSSED.
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